Chapter 7: The Second Wave

Leanne Bibby, Leeds Beckett University, UK

Introduction

The 'second wave' in western feminism is the name given to the period of organised feminist activism in the second half of the twentieth century, conventionally dated from the early 1960s in the United States. Several writers locate the origins of the British Women's Liberation Movement in the publication of American liberal feminist texts including Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963.[1] Historians of this period have also, however, identified important roots of the second wave in earlier, global, anti-colonial liberation movements: for instance, Judith Evans refers to 'those who fought for socialism in the 1960s Left in the US, Germany, and the UK; women who denounced their male comrades for preaching liberation for all the peoples of the world: all except women.'[2] 'The second wave' also designates a period of significant intersections between feminist activism, in the sense of practical organisation, and women's writing, with literary roots that pre-dated the organised movement. This chapter examines some of the references in women's writing from the 1950s to the 1970s to debates emerging in anticipation of or alongside the British Women's Liberation Movement, and argues that these prefigure the imaginative dimensions of feminist activism. From the postwar period onward, writers from Stevie Smith to Penelope Mortimer contemplated women's changing consciousness of their situation in illuminating ways. While these authors may not have identified themselves with the imminent women's movement in Britain, they nevertheless laid crucial literary groundwork for that movement, and for later feminist polemics including those in which Juliet Mitchell, Germaine Greer, and Sheila Rowbotham confronted both the cultural and material factors of women's oppression within patriarchal society. This chapter is divided into sections examining some of the major ways

in which what I term proto-second-wave literature explored relevant debates connected to the second wave in Britain. My selection of texts is not intended to be representative, but rather to assist readers in 'looking again' at celebrated texts and the persistently powerful and relevant forms of feminist expression they helped to establish.

The Second Wave in Britain: Breaking for Freedom

Second wave feminists built on the achievements of the 'first wave' earlier in the twentieth century, which was concerned with women's rights in the public sphere, to own property and to vote. The second wave focussed on a wider set of issues concerned at their core with the politics of 'reproduction' – meaning, in a Marxist sense, both the oppressive co-opting of women's bodies for heteronormative sexuality and childbearing, and women's 'reproduction' of political ideas,[3] meanings echoed in the writings of Sheila Rowbotham and Juliet Mitchell. The writers of the second wave played with these ideas, (re)producing ideas in imaginative, exploratory ways and speaking into and alongside conventional manifestos. The British Women's Liberation Movement, with writing a core form of activism, drove real social changes, including refuges for battered women and rape crisis centres, and held their first conference in Oxford in 1970, the same year as the publication in London of *The Female Eunuch* by Australian-born academic Germaine Greer (1939-) . *Spare Rib*, the feminist magazine launched at this time, reviewed and recommended women's novels, and Mary Eagleton highlights the often concurrent publication of feminist manifestos and pioneering works of feminist literary criticism, including Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics*, first published in the UK in 1971, and by Virago Press in 1977. Eagleton also emphasises Millett's stylistic 'energy and sense of urgency' – 'the audacity and élan of Millett's writing testifies to the excitement of that juncture' .[4] Recently, Catherine Riley has examined the intersections

between feminist literary criticism and polemic in an illuminating study of these two pioneering works by Millett and Greer.[5] Literature and literary criticism are central to the history of second-wave feminist activism, because, I would stress, literature is a crucial part of that activism's 'pre-history' prior to the foundation of the movement proper. I therefore build on Eagleton's and Riley's acknowledgement of this aspect of second wave history to contend that the examples of pre-1970 literature discussed in this chapter are the 'prototypes' of later, avowedly feminist writing.

Although the popular image of the second wave is still of campaigning on issues fundamental to women's equality, the period is also one of important developments in the history of ideas. Second-wave feminism is certainly tied intellectually to other global movements at this time: in America, to the New Left and the Civil Rights and anti-psychiatry movements, and in the UK, to the 'organised Left', a tradition of socialist thinking, anti-Vietnam campaigns and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND). Furthermore, women's employment and entry into higher education had increased, and divorce rates had risen.[6] Marxist concepts, in particular, allowed authors to scrutinise the making of social structures and the gendered subjects within them, even before the women's movement was fully formed. Mitchell's essay 'Women: the Longest Revolution', for example, discusses the period 'before there was a women's movement in Britain' although its cultural origins were indeed present.[7] Meanwhile, in 1973's *Woman's Consciousness, Man's World*, Rowbotham engages with Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* but criticises the book for neglecting 'the manifestations of women's oppression through to the material structure of society', and describes the new movement Friedan called for evocatively as 'shuffling about within capitalism'[8] instead of pushing for structural change. The British movement thus grew out of critical and imaginative thinking and writing about its counterparts, focusing afresh on issues of social organisation and cultural representation. Feminists in the UK were well aware that

the image of the emotionally and psychologically struggling housewife, familiar from *The Feminine Mystique*, was of one who was suffering from the 'false consciousness' of patriarchy (to borrow Engels' ideas, as Marxist feminists have).[9]

Mitchell is one key author of the British second wave to locate her work in precisely these worldwide contexts, for example by noting her early 'indignation' at Frantz Fanon's argument that women should only be emancipated after a revolution for Algerian independence.[10] Cora Kaplan also underlines resistance to racist and imperialist ideologies as a driving force behind second wave feminist thinking – thinking grounded in critical readings of male-authored theory and literature.[11] Women in Britain had been part of campaigns for social reform since long before the 1960s and 70s, the 1960s especially having seen unprecedented advances in women's rights including the introduction of the contraceptive pill and the Abortion Act (1967).[12] Marxist, socialist, psychoanalytic, and other bodies of theory provided feminists with new methods and frameworks for rethinking the relation between the public and the private. This theoretically-informed rethinking was rooted in literature; critical works such as Ellen Moers's *Literary Women* (1963) and Millett's *Sexual Politics*, indeed, are as strongly associated with Women's Liberation as other polemics, and the polemics themselves, Friedan's and Greer's included, refer frequently to literature to support their claims. Greer and Millett critique male-authored literature, primarily. Among many examples, Greer memorably traces modern terms of misogynistic abuse back to Shakespeare, including 'flibbertigibbet', used to describe an alleged victim of rape in the twentieth century and also a 'foul fiend from hell' in *King Lear*;[13] and Millett reads Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* as a dismaying 'program for social and sexual redemption' for men and women based on a reversion to Freudian active and passive sexual roles, respectively. While male literature came under scrutiny in the service of Women's Liberation, the first dedicated feminist publishers, including Virago (founded in 1973),

contributed to a new sense of the role of women's literary writing as canon-changing activism also: as Catherine Riley says about Virago, the press's early lists demonstrate a decisive 'intention to change the constructions of gender through literature'.[14]

The first issue of *Spare Rib* magazine, published in 1972, reveals interests in the same breaking-points of patriarchal culture as other forms of writing, and its hopes to empower its readers and subjects through imaginative and polemical writing of many kinds. While inviting contributions by new and established writers, the issue features articles (most presented in brash visual styles) on cultural and social issues, history, the activities of women's liberation groups, DIY how-to guides, education campaigns, an article on beauty 'behind the dirt', advertisements for a novel by Margaret Drabble and a women's legal support group, and recipes 'for people who don't want to spend much time in the kitchen'.[15] The precise relationship between British second-wave feminism and British women's writing is ambivalent, but looking at writing that pre-dates the Women's Liberation movement of the 1970s is instructive. Although most of the authors I will refer to here did not ally themselves with Women's Liberation, there is an observable sense of proto-second-wave exchange between feminist ideas and literary forms of expression. I will explore this exchange now through literary work from the 1950s onward whose written forms broke free from conventional expectations, suggesting ways in which changed consciousness could lead to changed realities.

In the second half of the twentieth century, images of women in psychological distress figure in many British literary texts, their distress positioned in terms of resistance to the structural and ideological limitations on their lives. In Doris Lessing's *The Golden Notebook* (1962), protagonist Anna Wulf's narrative is dispersed among fragments from her five notebooks and a novel-in-progress, suggesting not only multiple forms of 'breakdown' but also determined literary (re)production. Lessing's 1971 introduction to the novel expresses a

prickly, unsure kind of feminism – she strives to 'get the subject of Women's Liberation over with'[16] – but the text's discursive interventions remain. In a moving example, Anna is canvassing for votes for the Communist Party when she observes 'Five lonely women going mad quietly by themselves'.[17] As Maroula Joannou has noted in relation to *The Golden Notebook* and another classic British-published text of female breakdown,, Sylvia Plath's *The Bell Jar* (1963), these fictions highlight 'the metonymic links between mental illness and the post-war feminine mystique', disturbing historical notions of 'madness' as a 'purely individual phenomenon',[18] and a feminised one into the bargain. Again, Plath's novel became associated with second-wave feminism retrospectively, rather than as a consequence of any explicit authorial identification with the movement.

Furthermore, these novels' depictions of breakdown challenge social and cultural structures in ways that call to mind, thematically and stylistically, psychiatrist R. D. Laing's near-contemporary suggestion in *The Politics of Experience* (1967) that medical practices of diagnosing/labelling mental illness fail to recognise the 'ill' person as potentially experiencing valuable 'other' types of consciousness. For Laing, the schizophrenic is capable of forming a particular 'inner life' in response to inadequate social conditions:

> We are socially conditioned to regard total immersion in outer space and time as normal and healthy. Immersion in inner space and time tends to be regarded as anti-social withdrawal, a deviancy, invalid, pathological *per se*, in some sense discreditable.[19]

The Bell Jar's Esther Greenwood's experience of 'inner time and space' is one of anguish at the features of her environment as much as at her mental condition; her disappointments in education, work, and relationships combine with the damaging impact of food poisoning and other physical pains. She reflects, with disarming insight (and recognition of the value of writing in all this) that 'People were made of nothing so much as dust, and I couldn't see that

doctoring all that dust was a bit better than writing poems people would remember'.[20] Writing and narrative go on during and despite breakdown, and provide a certain, useful version of reality, as they do for Mrs Armitage in Penelope Mortimer's *The Pumpkin Eater* (1962), who narrates her experiences to the reader and her doctor, and concludes her interior narrative thus: 'Some of these things happened, and some were dreams. They are all true, as I understand truth. They are all real, as I understand reality'.[21] Along with Lessing's text, these proto-second-wave novels assert the capacity of 'mad' women to critique their surroundings incisively – a paradoxical kind of power, from within positions of ostensible weakness.

By way of writing about, around, and beyond entrenched ways of thinking, speaking and participating in society, conventions could be rendered strange, patriarchy itself defamiliarised, and female breakdown seen as a form of resistance to oppression. In addition, much women's writing of the British second wave challenged anew the idea that there should or could be a clear distinction between literary writing and polemical writing. Women's writing of this time, whether feminist in its declared aims or not, participates in often unexpected ways in representing and examining the 'social training' that allows patriarchy to subjugate women.[22] In A. S. Byatt's *The Shadow of the Sun* (1964), for example, teenage Anna Severell, the daughter of an eminent novelist, works to develop her own identity as an intellectual, but in seeking a wider range of knowledge about life, becomes pregnant during an affair with her tutor. Byatt's novel is one of the clearest examples of a woman-centred narrative to link the act of writing directly to a woman protagonist's changed consciousness, before organised Women's Liberation. Anna's story concludes with her abandoning a convenient marriage and choosing an uncertain future that will, however, include writing and self-determination: 'I've never tried yet,' she thinks, 'I've never put pen to paper.'[23] Her conventional destiny broken down, there is nothing yet to replace it, but this uncertainty allows for the interlinked possibilities of exploration, art, and autonomy. Mortimer's Mrs

Armitage in *The Pumpkin Eater* takes similar control of her own narrative and vision, although she is classed as unbalanced within the culture Laing criticised. For her, like Anna, uncertainty creates crucial possibility: 'Most people, I know, have this fantasy. One day they'll walk out of the door, through the garden gate, and…then? Then what? … you need a state of mind to think all of these things, and that state of mind is the one that keeps you at home'.[24] Conventional 'states of mind' are all that is sanctioned – all others produce only 'fantasy', which feminist art must then re-characterise as a serious engagement with ideas.

The subversive states of mind represented in the postwar period's proto-second-wave fiction exploited the manifold possible breaking-points of patriarchal culture and society, and fed into later, polemical writing that sought to convey ideas in subversive, imaginative form. Maroula Joannou stresses the well-known idea that the 1970s were a turning point in organised British feminism – 'the decade of women' where the 1960s had been 'the decade of youth'.[25] Compelling manifestos and polemics were required to establish this movement and to 'centre' women culturally as subjects and agents – although, contrastingly, provocative 'decentring' was also part of the era's feminisms. Polemics and manifestos, therefore, sharpened certain styles and strategies already present in women's writing, whether by declared feminists, or not: texts like those by Lessing, Plath, Byatt, and Mortimer centre women, while also resisting and interrogating boundaries or borders, and find distinctive ways to represent women's experiences in their bodies, homes and wider environments, particularly where these experiences are troubling to patriarchal order. In terms of centring, Joannou's notion of 'woman-centred fictions', or fictions that 'address women about issues of primary concern to women',[26] illuminates various writings' participation in the second wave. Patricia Duncker also emphasises the role of fiction in activism and argues for a clear interplay between the discourses of imaginative writing, academic feminism, and activism. With vivid details of her own involvement in the British women's movement, she argues that

'the radical basis of feminism is storytelling',[27] and in addition, that writing is 'an act of transgression, an articulation of all the things we should not *feel or think*' [emphasis added].[28] For Duncker, moreover, all feminist writing is 'necessarily confrontational, in opposition. We will always write polemic'.[29] On the broken-down borders between fiction and polemic, it seems, British second-wave feminism began.

Appearing in 1970, the start of Joannou's 'decade of women', Germaine Greer's *The Female Eunuch* was a bestseller, setting it apart from academic and 'underground' feminist publications, while all nevertheless participated in the same project. In 2006, novelist Fay Weldon recalled that 'In the 1970s everyone was reading this'; as she worked as the sole female television writer in 'an entirely male world', Greer's book 'gave shape to what [she] was already doing'.[30] The expression 'gave shape' is very apt, as the book takes clear inspiration from the feminist 'classics' before it and makes use of their forms and polemical styles, resulting in an approach both erudite and confrontational. *The Female Eunuch* takes aspects from Simone de Beauvoir's analysis of the situation and history of the category of 'woman' in *The Second Sex* (1949), Betty Friedan's critique of the American cult of 'the happy housewife heroine' in *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), and the anarchic (and satirical and performative) call for the elimination of the male sex in Valerie Solanas's *SCUM Manifesto* (1967).[31] In an importantly British-based instance of feminist polemic, *The Female Eunuch* gave a provocative and accessible new shape to feminist writing.

Reading *The Female Eunuch* is still a jolt for audiences familiar with its overall message (transmitted in a muted manner by subsequent academic texts and word of mouth) but not with its acidly confrontational style. Women's subjugation is explained with an energising conciseness as the 'castration of women', which 'has been carried out in terms of a masculine-feminine polarity, in which men have commandeered all the energy'.[32] Greer expounds this argument across themed sections on 'Body', 'Soul', 'Love', and 'Hate',

moving between disciplines including science, anthropology, history, literature, mythology, to assert both the problem's severity and the necessity of solutions that will break down inadequate versions of reality. Visually and formally, the text announces its close relationship to magazines and polemics published as periodicals, such as *Spare Rib*: its short sections are not exactly chapters but rather quasi-journalistic pieces scrutinising aspects of the patriarchy, written with a brevity and directness that would attract a wide readership of forms besides books. The border-defying discursive project of second-wave feminism in Britain seems to crystallise in Greer's polemic, and the literature analysed in the following sections demonstrates that project's much earlier beginnings.

Women as Subjects

The diverse body of second-wave feminist writing in Britain sought to establish women as autonomous subjects, with the ability to change society and culture, rather than as the 'Others' of man that Simone de Beauvoir described in her critique of patriarchy, *The Second Sex*. This autonomous subjectivity is the discursive basis of the notion of 'rights' within organised feminism (the term 'subject' also implies, at the same time but in very different ways, the concept of interior, subjective experience so crucial to feminist writing). Fiona A. Montgomery surveys how legal reforms in British women's favour after the Second World War dramatically illustrate their changing position in society. Laws including the 1945 Family Allowances Act, the 1967 Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act (often simply called the Abortion Act) and the Family Planning Act of the same year, the 1970 Equal Pay Act and the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act suggest the shifting ways in which the law 'created the legal category "woman"'.[33] Although women gained agency later in the twentieth century, they were initially constructed in legal discourse and granted rights only in relation to men, their children and other dependents within the family. Basic patriarchal structures,

such as the conventional family, persisted as norms. The effect of giving women some legal autonomy and rights was thus, paradoxically, to emphasise discursively their central place within patriarchal structures such as the bourgeois family, a place which their own written interventions could then disturb and resist. British authors including Mortimer and Byatt, and poets Stevie Smith and Elizabeth Jennings (1926-2001) paradoxically wrote within, but also against these rigidly patriarchal systems. With the blurring of boundaries between writing and activism, and between literature and polemic, then, women became more prominent subjects in many accounts of social and public life in ways that questioned and compromised the status quo.

One of the most useful critical frameworks for examining this process retrospectively is Maggie Humm's notion of 'border crossings' in feminist writing. She defines 'borders' as more than 'simply discontinuities, temporary barriers to women's drive for knowledge'; rather, they are the transitional spaces between cultures and identities, and between self and other: spaces in which British women authors of the twentieth century could 'problematise narrative forms and question the limits of representation and of consciousness'.[34] Doris Lessing, for example, has Anna Wulf write about the language of supposedly 'fixed' feminine subjectivities even within the fictional fabric of *The Golden Notebook,* by attempting to record the minutiae of female perceptions.[35] In view of this, we can regard an episode in Anna's blue notebook as one such test of 'the limits of representation' in its inclusion of Anna's experience of menstruation: this stimulates her intention to be 'conscious of everything so as to write it down', although she records mainly her worry of 'a bad smell, emanating from me', which she feels as 'an imposition from outside.' Writing her physical self extends her consciousness beyond taboos regarding women's bodies. Still, even as she evokes several times the sensory realities of smells, for instance, she paradoxically resists this heightened consciousness, pushing her period 'out of her mind'[36] behind the excuse of

cleanliness. This emotional and physical minutiae remains inscribed in the notebook, meanwhile; the experience paradoxically both voiced and unvoiced at the same time

Proto-second-wave literary authors, including Doris Lessing, Sylvia Plath, and Fay Weldon, exploited paradoxical, both/and relationships between forms and genres to represent women's social, psychological, emotional, and physical experiences more closely, directly, and therefore inherently more challengingly. Elizabeth Jennings and Stevie Smith are two poets whose work explores women's subjectivity and its productively uneasy relationship to patriarchal forms of culture, in ways clearly anticipating the writing of the later second wave. This work lays the type of formal and thematic groundwork for Women's Liberation discussed earlier. Jennings is an often overlooked example of a mid-twentieth-century poet carrying out this groundwork: a devout Catholic with no declared feminist allegiance, nonetheless her work and its concern with women, writing, and border crossings has been seen as challenging conventional oppositions between tradition and progressiveness.[37] The poetry is often read in terms of female mysticism, with Amanda G. Michaels arguing that 'mysticism is 'a border subject, existing both within and without religious tradition'.[38] Formally and thematically, Jennings's work anticipates many key motifs of second wave literature. The 'border' condition of being both within and outside the 'symbolic boundaries' Humm describes[39] is a disarming dimension of Jennings's treatment of, in particular, memory, relationships, art, religion, death, and the simple act of narration from both within and outside dominant domains of experience. In 'Telling Stories' (1958), 'stories' are defined as 'large things' beyond the rigorous control of 'A verb, an adjective, a happy end'. The speaker defends an unruly but powerful form of storytelling:

> The stories that we tell, we tell against
> Ourselves then at the last
> Since all the worlds we make we stand outside

The unidentified controller of language may 'stand firm within the fragile plot'.[40] The domineering 'you' of the poem guards the centres and forms of narratives, while the speaker gives an exhilarating sense of possibilities around and beyond these discursive boundaries. 1953's 'Identity' dramatises a thinking subject's perception of a relationship, and awareness of her (her gender can be assumed) definition in relation to the loved and loving other:

> So then assemble me,
> Your exact picture firm and credible,
> Though as I think myself I may be free
> And accurate enough.[41]

The focus on the female subject here is enough to set aside, for a time, the power of outside institutions to define and limit the subject, her thoughts, emotions and decisions.

For Jennings, the possibility of transcendence in religious thought and experience is a way of querying patriarchal borders. Further to this, 1958's 'The Annunciation' takes an icon of maternity and feminine submission, the Virgin Mary, and makes her experience immediate, sensory, and ambivalent. She is both powerless and powerful, refusing stasis: aware of 'the pain to come' but nonetheless 'in ecstasy'. The visiting angel has 'terrified her', but she speaks and reasons her way through uncertainty about the 'god before' to the 'god' that now 'grows'. One halting thought follows another towards her focus on the 'human child she loves', the one she nurtures and *knows*, beside the vast idea of the 'god' that 'stirs beneath her breast'.[42] Immediate, physical, feminine experiences both within and outside the cult of maternity Mary represents take precedence over religious revelation, giving her a powerfully liminal new subject position between body and spirit. In 1966's 'Caravaggio's "Narcissus" in Rome', the speaking subject is also one with the ability not only 'Simply to see this picture' as do 'many', but also to 'stare' reflectively at the art that supports culture and knowledge. The myth of Narcissus looking at himself and the artist painting the mythic

scene to gain 'self-knowledge' becomes an opportunity for the subject to do the same – though not without risk: 'Look at yourself, the shine, the sheer / Embodiment thrown back in some / Medium like wood or glass'. Thinking and meaning-making continue; when the making of art stops, meanings that the artist 'could not find' become apparent.[43] Staring, not just looking, becomes an imaginative, productive act, again tantalisingly so in relation to an apparently female speaking subject akin to the activist or polemicist looking back forcibly at culture.

Stevie Smith's poetry intervenes in familiar narratives at the level of conversation, gossip, letters, and well-known cultural images: in other words, in the narratives produced by and supporting the forms of social life that define and confine the genders. Mark Halliday describes Smith, a prolific writer of fiction and poetry concerned with middle-class experience, as 'a deeply original and serious poet who masqueraded as a poet of eccentric light verse', and 'a radical objector to the frustrations and limitations of reality' in England.[44] Smith and her work are not associated explicitly with the British women's movement (William May has examined Smith's skill at manipulating and concealing her own public persona at different times), but the poetry's style and investment in transgression nonetheless make it a contribution to literary proto-feminism. The poems' edge of knowing humour is reminiscent of the spiky, sardonic tones of a great deal of *Spare Rib*'s journalism and Greer's *The Female Eunuch*. Her poetry is a satire on conventions that is ferociously knowledgeable about and exasperated with them. Much of Smith's poetry of the 1960s, reprinted in the *Collected Poems* of 1975, uses dry humour, a vocal and irreverent form of subjectivity from within established forms of speech and behaviour, to assert those forms' absurd limitations.[45] 'Was He Married?' poses a series of questions beyond its titular enquiry, on the identity and status associated with marriage, to notions of love and death, strength and weakness, so that the comic 'masquerade' Halliday notes gives way to the telling question:

Do only human beings suffer from the irritation

I have mentioned? learn too that being comical

Does not ameliorate the desperation?[46]

The short verse 'Poor Soul, poor Girl!' gives a darkly humorous voice to the debutante depicted in one of Smith's pen drawings accompanying the poem, a seated woman in evening gown and small shoes, with a pointy tiara, imagining being 'struck by lightning and killed suddenly'.[47] Smith thus breaks the debutante's decorous, prescribed, and seemingly natural silence, exposing the disruptive experiences therein. Like Jennings, Smith exploits these feminine silences by populating them with voices. 'Everything is Swimming' is another verse in the deceptive form of gossip, the subject of which is a supposedly 'Silly ass' and 'silly woman', maybe drunk or on the hallucinogen 'mescalin [*sic*]', whose almost mystical perspective is nevertheless given in the poem's first line and repeated in its second – 'Everything is swimming in a wonderful wisdom'.[48] Both conventional and marginal discourses of feminine life are also imagined in 'Emily writes such a good letter', in which 'Emily's' trite comments on marriages, homes, and visits sit beside moments of high emotion, such as terror of illness – 'It was cancer' – and spite – 'In my opinion Maud / Is an evil woman'.[49] The work of Jennings and Smith constructs a provocative dissonance between patriarchal forces of family, religion, subdued forms of speech and thought (sober, proper), and a sense of the speaking and thinking subject's actual experience and consciousness. That consciousness is in flux, unpredictable, and liable to cross the borders of which British culture during the second wave was so strongly aware: borders between bodies and spirits or intellects, maternal and intellectual (re)production, interpretation and critique, and between patriarchal institutions and possible experiences beyond them.

Women's Bodies

Across the history (in the broadest sense) of writing about women, their bodies have been represented frequently as sites of instability and madness (again, crossing acceptable borders), and as objects of distrust and fear. They are policed by the institutional and cultural forces of patriarchy, notably medicine, the relationships sanctioned in marriage and the family, and the more or less obvious cultural codes, scrutinised in feminist theory, that define women as either (as Montgomery summarises) 'potential mothers, actual mothers or retired mothers'.[50] In other words, historically, discourses of female embodiment have discouraged women from taking action on desires other than those for nurturing family life and domesticity. The question of women's (re)productive capacities, a driving concern of second wave feminism, has proved especially problematic for the status quo when deployed for feminist purposes. The female body is, after all, both a material fact and a symbol of its own very long history as the other of the male body.

Later feminist philosophy, including the work of Luce Irigaray and Hélène Cixous, would consider women's bodies as systems of linguistic meanings and their 'otherness' as potentially productive, but bodies have long been often unstable literary tropes of women's experiences and desires. Fay Weldon's first two novels, *The Fat Woman's Joke* (1967) and *Down Among the Women* (1971) are sharply knowing with regard to the tradition of patriarchal philosophy, which designates the female body as unruly, messy, threatening, and voracious. Weldon engages in the same debates as Greer, who argues that at the moment of the second wave, 'Women's sexual organs are shrouded in mystery' and that most women's 'knowledge of the womb is academic' in an educational milieu characterised by misogynistic myths, fantasies, and taboos. Greer observes that if the female body is represented in discourse at all, it is distorted to unnatural proportions to emphasise its 'curves'.[51] With a formally simple but uncompromisingly direct language, comparable to Greer's, Weldon's writing walks the fine line between fiction and polemic. It depicts physical acts of excess by

means of food and sex and (often temporary) rejections of the institutions of marriage and the family. The women and men in Weldon's *The Fat Woman's Joke* are hungry, for one form of sustenance or another: food, sex, career success, or a sense of the identity they feel should be theirs. Their sense of, or lack of sense of, their own bodies is paramount in every case.

Esther Sussman, separated from her husband, eats excessively; food has replaced sex in her life as an object of desire and source of pleasure: 'When you eat, you get fat, and that's all. There are no complications'.[52] Her weight gain and transgression of socially acceptable behaviour (she is associated with slovenliness, mess, and outspokenness) are stripped of their restrictive, middle-class social implications because for her, 'love and motherhood and romance' are 'no more than dreams remembered'.[53] She is no longer socially (or biologically) 'visible' or 'necessary', and so she enjoys a type of freedom, in which her body's sexual significance is beside the point, as she exists outside the 'buyers' market' of women Greer describes.[54] Susan is in her early twenties, and the secretary and (for most of the novel, aspiring) mistress of Esther's husband Alan who, ironically, desires food more than he does Susan, who is spitefully described by another woman as 'Plump, biteable and ripe'.[55] Alan himself expresses a wish to 'eat' part of her leg,[56] but while Susan constructs herself as a liberated artist and mistress on her own terms, she experiences a sensation of phantom pregnancy as a result of another boyfriend describing his wife's pregnancy to her.[57] Esther's friend Phyllis, ordinarily a devoted wife to her own cheating husband, succeeds in having an impulsive affair with Alan, who calls her 'a proper feminine woman' with 'pretty little eyes that never see more than they should'.[58] Her lack of awareness extends to the absence of her body from the text: like the idealised, 1960s romance heroines Greer describes,[59] she is 'overwhelmed' during an oddly bodiless paragraph of sex with Alan, which she tries to excuse by saying 'It's me. I'm frigid, you see. I was only trying to help you'.[60]

When Alan defines Phyllis, he echoes patriarchal narratives of women in relation to which acts of bodily excess and desire are defined as deviant. Both *The Fat Woman's Joke* and *Down Among the Women* are reminiscent, formally, of feminist stage plays (for instance by Caryl Churchill), often taking the form of conversations between women continually 'speaking' into and against scenarios. The novels' speakers, therefore, never quite 'settle' into their predicaments, although those predicaments remain: as Wanda in *Down Among the Women* says, knowingly, 'down here among the women we have no option but to stay'.[61] Unmarried, wily Scarlet has a baby daughter, Byzantia, plans to become a professional mistress, and eventually marries for 'security'. Her contemporary Jocelyn achieves a convenient middle-class marriage, for status. Both women's unions are emotionally and sexually unhappy, a state linked to their shifting sense of control of their respective situations. Marriage is 'necessary' to them both, for different reasons, although, in a cruel paradox, 'Loveless marriage is anathema' in their time and place, as Greer has it.[62] The novel looks back retrospectively at three generations of working- and middle-class women as they negotiate relationships and sex, marriages and motherhood, with contradictory and confrontational bluntness and humour (reminiscent of Stevie Smith) overlaying moments of anger, violence, and sadness. The text is, as Margaret Chessnut suggests, important for 'its presentation of female case-histories and the consciousness of middle-class women',[63] and along with *The Fat Woman's Joke*, it is an uncompromising representation of the conditions which Women's Liberation would imminently address, while cultural and legal changes responded to the realities of female embodiment.

Women, Home and Family

Second-wave feminism's critical confrontation with women's subjectivities and experiences, within and in spite of the patriarchal discourses (such as popular culture, history, and law) that sought to describe them, meant that the private and traditionally 'feminine' spheres of home and middle-class models of the family would be scrutinised in writing as never before. To paraphrase the second wave's definitive slogan, these aspects of the 'personal' would ever after be 'political' and become objects of suspicion, even while conventional social models remained largely in place. Juliet Mitchell, whose background, like that of many other feminist authors of the second wave, is in both Marxist and feminist politics, broke crucial feminist ground in considering the family as a focus for feminist analysis in the 1966 essay 'Feminism and the Question of Women'. She scrutinises in detail 'the gap between reality and ideology' in bourgeois society's valorisation of the family, and proposes instead to look at the 'separate structures' of 'women's condition' – production, reproduction, sexuality, and the socialisation of children – 'which together form a complex – not a simple – unity'.[64]

Mitchell's understanding of the complexity of women's problems can be read as a virtual co-text to Penelope Mortimer's novels *The Pumpkin Eater* (1962) and *The Home* (1971) whose deceptively simple narrative constructions of middle-class family life accommodate a disturbing sense of the fragility of the ideologies on which they depend. Mitchell notes the 'sheer absurdities' observed in propaganda for 'mother-care as a social act'.[65] She argues that 'the problem of women has been submerged in an analysis of the family',[66] a discursive situation which Mortimer explores by way of specific aspects of family life, which are then subtly undermined by their protagonists' uneasy relationship to the family, an officially non-negotiable institution. In Mitchell's analysis, women are culturally disassociated from 'production', or physical labour, because of the strong ideological link between what is seen as their role in bearing and raising children within a home they maintain, and the perceived structure of society. Mitchell argues that 'an advanced society

not founded on the nuclear family is now inconceivable', ensuring the 'natural character' of the family and its oppression of women.[67] Linked to this are the requirements of sexual monogamy and the expectation that middle-class women will identify as the main 'socialisers' in their children's lives as part of a cult of 'motherliness'.[68] For Mitchell, these 'structures' should be 'transformed' by means of the structural and ideological changes proposed by second wave feminist writers and activists. Mortimer's novels supply provocative interventions in relation to these processes of change, with characters and forms of language alike challenging the repetitions, absurdities, and contradictions of women's position.

In *The Pumpkin Eater*, the character known only as 'Mrs Armitage' narrates her multiple marriages, other experiences, reactions, and desires, in a combination of supposed realities and remembered dreams. The observed disjunctions between ideology and reality result in a disjointed, dialogue-heavy first-person narration, and an accompanying, dangerous sense of woman's identity as a vacuum, when it is not 'filled' with relationships, marriages, and childbearing. In a dreamlike discourse on shopping, Mrs Armitage asks herself 'What did I come here for? Why did I walk, in spring, along a mile of pavement? Do I want a bed rest, a barbecue, a clock like a plate or a satin stole or a pepper mill or a dozen Irish linen tea towels painted, most beautifully, with the months of the year?'.[69] None of her movements and pursuits seem natural, a source of order and fulfilment – rather the opposite. They are symptoms of breakdown and the painful insights that go with this. The novel's formal reliance on interior monologue and dialogue maps Mrs Armitage's situation and family on to the factors Mitchell identifies, and shows their failure to produce a promised social order whose subjects have meaningful places in society. Housewife Mrs Armitage consumes, reproduces (her doctor comments that 'she drops those babies like a cat'),[70] and then she and other characters demonstrate the ill effects of social expectations regarding women's sexual

behaviour and devotion to parenting. Her doctor accuses her of seeing 'sex without children' as 'unthinkable'; he seemingly misses the irony of the fact that bourgeois family ideology shares this view.[71] The narrative is not linear or chronological and is disrupted by her memories, insecurities and illnesses which all, paradoxically (and recalling R. D. Laing), expand her vision, albeit painfully. There do not seem to be any alternatives yet to the middle-class cult of intertwined sexuality, marriage, motherhood, and family noted by Mitchell, which represents a devastatingly narrow but dominant set of standards. Both Mitchell and Mortimer express this 'stationary' cultural condition.[72]

With similarly close attention to the elements of home and family life that are prone to failure and in need of transformation, Mortimer's *The Home* explores the ruined marriage of Eleanor and Graham Strathearn as a formerly 'cheerful fantasy'.[73] The middle-class formula of their past home and lifestyle is very easily undermined because it is based on a mystique of masculine and feminine roles whose 'naturalness' is inherently compromised, its key features doubted. A new suitor remarks to Eleanor 'Who ever heard of a happily married couple in 1971?'[74] The end of her marriage and home, furthermore, produces possibility but also fearful uncertainty – Eleanor begins 'slipping, losing faith'.[75] There is an accompanying edge of unreality to Eleanor's new house: 'It was a woman's house and the colours were those of fruit' and its pretensions are, furthermore, 'a private joke',[76] and a cover for indistinct realities and as yet unrealised freedoms. Her former home and family are one in her imagination, symbols of broader ideals of heteronormative, conjugal life. Eleanor has a recurring nightmare, 'of being in the old, the original, house, which was decomposing' and where her ex-husband is a terrifying 'absence'.[77] The novel uses haunting interior episodes such as these to suggest the need for action and imagination in response to the absences, wreckages, and times of stasis left after the failure of, or escape from, feminine domesticity. A deep-seated and imaginative questioning and rejection of bourgeois ideology is necessary,

for Eleanor and for the feminists of the second wave. Existing on the cusp of nearly-defined alternatives results in breakdown of many kinds but an expanded feminist vision need only be distressing as long as it is not pursued further, into art and polemic. These novels, like Weldon's, point as strongly as does second-wave polemic to the need for imaginative discourse to underpin ideological and structural change.

Conclusion

In the chapter of *The Female Eunuch* titled 'Rebellion', Greer calls for a society pivotally altered at the level of women's imagination, speech, and consciousness, to enable change at a practical level. Quoting from activist Beverly Jones's 'nine point policy' for women's liberation, Greer reasserts the centrality of narrative to activism itself. Point four demands, simply but compellingly, that

> Women should share their experiences with each other until they understand, identify, and explicitly state the many psychological techniques of domination in and out of the home. These should be published and distributed widely until they are common knowledge.[78]

The second wave of feminism in Britain engineered a decisively imaginative set of confrontations with patriarchy, in which literature is deeply embedded, even if much of this literature lies outside the conventional, historical boundaries of the organised Women's Liberation Movement. The period's feminist polemic can be read productively alongside a broader range of women's writing than is often assumed, in groupings that give heightened discursive force to stories of women's oppression, and which in turn suggest new forms for culture and society. Women's Liberation's consciousness was generated before its organised

beginnings, in a restless literature with a sharpened sense of the interior, subjective experiences of living within patriarchy. This literature is often preoccupied with themes of psychological distress and breakdown, the subversive significance of women's bodies, and the changing meanings of home and family life, because these are sites of the private, interior, and often publicly silenced female experiences with which second-wave feminism was so much concerned.

Bibliography

Breen, Jennifer (1990) *In Her Own Write: Twentieth Century Women's Fiction* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education).

British Library, 'Timeline of the Women's Liberation Movement', *Sisterhood and After*, http://www.bl.uk/sisterhood/timeline, accessed 28 June 2016.

Buchanan, Ian, 'Second Wave feminism', *A Dictionary of Critical Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Byatt, A. S. (1964) *The Shadow of the Sun* (London: Vintage).

Chessnut, Margaret (1979) 'Feminist Criticism and Feminist Consciousness: A Reading of a Novel by Fay Weldon', *Moderna Sprak*, 73, 3-18.

Duncker, Patricia (1991) *Sisters and Strangers: An Introduction to Contemporary Feminist Fiction* (Oxford: Blackwell).

Eagleton, Mary (1991) *Feminist Literary Criticism* (New York: Longman).

Engels, Friedrich, 'Engels to Franz Mehring, July 14 1893', *Marx-Engels Correspondence 1893*, https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1893/letters/93_07_14.htm, accessed 28 June 2016.

Evans, Judith (1995) *Feminist Theory Today: An Introduction to Second-Wave Feminism* (London: Sage).

Fahs, Breanne (2008) 'The Radical Possibilities of Valerie Solanas', *Feminist Studies*, 34:3, 591-617.

Fullbrook, Kate (1990) *Free Women: Ethics and Aesthetics in Twentieth Century Women's Fiction* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf).

Greer, Germaine (1971) *The Female Eunuch* (London: Paladin).

Halliday, Mark (2009) 'Stevie Smith's Serious Comedy', *Humor*, 22:3, 295-315.

Haut, Mavis (2007) 'A Salty Tongue: At the Margins of Satire, Comedy and Polemic in the Writing of Valerie Solanas', *Feminist Theory*, 8:1, 27-41.

Humm, Maggie (1991) *Border Traffic: Strategies of Contemporary Women Writers* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).

Humm, Maggie (1992) *Feminisms: A Reader* (Harlow: Harvester Wheatsheaf).

Jennings, Elizabeth (2002) *New Collected Poems* (Manchester: Carcanet).

Joannou, Maroula (2000) *Contemporary Women's Writing: From* The Golden Notebook *to* The Color Purple (Manchester: Manchester University Press).

Kaplan, Cora (1986) *Sea Changes* (London: Verso).

Laing, R. D. (1967) *The Politics of Experience and The Bird of Paradise* (London: Penguin).

Lessing, Doris (2007) [1962] *The Golden Notebook* (London: Harper Perennial).

May, William (2010) *Stevie Smith and Authorship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Michaels, Amanda G. (2010) 'The Mystic and the Poet: Identity Formation, Deformation, and Reformation in Elizabeth Jennings' "Teresa of Avila" and Kathleen Jamie's "Julian of Norwich"', *Christianity and Literature*, 59:4, 665-81.

Millett, Kate (1977) *Sexual Politics* (London: Virago).

Mitchell, Juliet (1984) *Women: The Longest Revolution: Essays in Feminism, Literature and Psychoanalysis* (London: Virago).

Montgomery, Fiona A. (2006) *Women's Rights: Struggles and Feminism in Britain c. 1770-1970* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).

Mortimer, Penelope (1962) *The Pumpkin Eater* (London: Hutchinson and Co.).

Mortimer, Penelope (1971) *The Home* (London: Hutchinson).

Plath, Sylvia (1963) *The Bell Jar* (London: Faber and Faber).

Riley, Catherine (2014) '"The Message is in the Book": What Virago's Sale in 1995 Means for Feminist Publishing', *Women: A Cultural Review*, 25:3, 235-255.

C. Riley (2016) 'The Intersections Between Early Feminist Polemic and Publishing: How Books Changed Lives in the Second Wave', Women: A Cultural Review, 26:4, 384-401.

Rowbotham, Sheila (1973) *Woman's Consciousness, Man's World* (London: Penguin).

Smith, Stevie (1975) *The Collected Poems of Stevie Smith* (London: Allen Lane).

Teller, Joseph R. (2008), '"The Misrule of our Dust": Psychoanalysis, Sacrament, and the Subject in Elizabeth Jennings's Poetry of Incarnation', *Christianity and Literature*, 57:4, 531-557.

Various authors (1972) *Spare Rib*, 1:1.

Weldon, Fay (2012) [1967] *The Fat Woman's Joke* (London: Flamingo).

Weldon, Fay (1971) *Down Among the Women* (London: Heinemann).

Weldon, Fay (2006) 'The Books that Changed Me…', *The Sun Herald* (Sydney, Australia), 8 January, Late Edition.

[1] See, for example, M. Humm (1992) *Feminisms: A Reader* (Harlow: Harvester Wheatsheaf), and I. Buchanan, 'Second Wave feminism', *A Dictionary of Critical Theory* (Oxford: Oxford

University Press), p. 426. They see the publication of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* as a USA-based landmark and shift towards second-wave thinking and activism.

[2] J. Evans (1995) *Feminist Theory Today: An Introduction to Second-Wave Feminism* (London: Sage), p. 1.

[3] Humm, *Feminisms: A Reader*, pp. 53-4.

[4] M. Eagleton (1991) *Feminist Literary Criticism* (New York: Longman), p. 2.

[5] C. Riley (2016) 'The Intersections Between Early Feminist Polemic and Publishing: How Books Changed Lives in the Second Wave', Women: A Cultural Review, 26:4, 384-401.

[6] Humm, *Feminisms: A Reader*, pp. 54-5.

[7] Mitchell, *Women: The Longest Revolution*, p. 17.

[8] S. Rowbotham (1973) *Woman's Consciousness, Man's World* (London: Penguin), pp. 5-6.

[9] Friedrich Engels uses the phrase 'false consciousness', meaning the manner in which ideology deceives members of a society, in his 14 July 1893 letter to Franz Mehring, online, https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1893/letters/93_07_14.htm, accessed 28 June 2016.

[10] J. Mitchell (1984) *Women: The Longest Revolution: Essays in Feminism, Literature and Psychoanalysis* (London: Virago), p. 17.

[11] C. Kaplan (1986) *Sea Changes* (London: Verso), p. 18.

[12] See the British Library's timeline of British Women's Liberation: http://www.bl.uk/sisterhood/timeline, accessed 28 June 2016.

[13] G. Greer (1971) *The Female Eunuch* (London: Paladin), p. 294.

[14] C. Riley (2014) '"The Message is in the Book": What Virago's Sale in 1995 Means for Feminist Publishing', *Women: A Cultural Review*, 25:3, 235-255, p. 240.

[15] *Spare Rib*, 1:1 (1972), p. 35.

[16] Doris Lessing (2007) [1962] *The Golden Notebook* (London: Harper Perennial), p.9.

[17] Lessing, *The Golden Notebook*, p. 161.

[18] M. Joannou (2000) *Contemporary Women's Writing: From* The Golden Notebook *to* The Color Purple (Manchester: Manchester University Press), p. 16.

[19] R. D. Laing (1967) *The Politics of Experience and The Bird of Paradise* (London: Penguin), p. 103.

[20] Sylvia Plath (1963) *The Bell Jar* (London: Faber and Faber), p. 53.

[21] Penelope Mortimer (1962) *The Pumpkin Eater* (London: Hutchinson and Co.), p. 222.

[22] J. Breen (1990) *In Her Own Write: Twentieth Century Women's Fiction* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education), p. 123.

[23] A. S. Byatt (1964) *The Shadow of the Sun* (London: Vintage), p. 297.

[24] Mortimer, *The Pumpkin Eater*, p. 215.

[25] Joannou, *Contemporary Women's Writing*, p. 6.

[26] Joannou, *Contemporary Women's Writing*, p. 11.

[27] P. Duncker (1991) *Sisters and Strangers: An Introduction to Contemporary Feminist Fiction* (Oxford: Blackwell), p. 7.

[28] Duncker, *Sisters and Strangers*, p. 15.

[29] Duncker, *Sisters and Strangers*, p. 33.

[30] Fay Weldon (2006) 'The Books that Changed Me…', *The Sun Herald* (Sydney, Australia), 8 January 8, Late Edition, p. 65.

[31] Several writers have analysed the theatrical and imaginative features of Solanas's provocative *SCUM Manifesto* and her 1966 play *Up Your Ass*, including Mavis Haut (2007) 'A Salty Tongue: At the Margins of Satire, Comedy and Polemic in the Writing of Valerie Solanas', *Feminist Theory*, 8:1, 27-41. She argues that the *SCUM Manifesto* satirises and critiques masculine stand-up comedy. Breanne Fahs (2008) 'The Radical Possibilities of Valerie Solanas', *Feminist Studies*, 34:3, 591-617 highlights the radical

ironies in Solanas's writing and 'character' that are much less (in)famous than her shooting of Andy Warhol in 1968.

[32] Greer, *The Female Eunuch*, p. 16.

[33] F. A. Montgomery (2006) *Women's Rights: Struggles and Feminism in Britain c. 1770-1970* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), p. 7.

[34] M. Humm (1991) *Border Traffic: Strategies of Contemporary Women Writers* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp. 6-7.

[35] Humm, *Border Traffic*, p. 51.

[36] Lessing, *The Golden Notebook*, pp. 304, 305.

[37] J. R. Teller (2008), '"The Misrule of our Dust": Psychoanalysis, Sacrament, and the Subject in Elizabeth Jennings's Poetry of Incarnation', *Christianity and Literature*, 57:4, 531-557, p. 532.

[38] A. G. Michaels (2010) 'The Mystic and the Poet: Identity Formation, Deformation, and Reformation in Elizabeth Jennings' "Teresa of Avila" and Kathleen Jamie's "Julian of Norwich"', *Christianity and Literature*, 59: 4, 665-681, 665. The notion of female mysticism, and its significance for feminist writing, also calls to mind Byatt's discussion of women's difficulty in identifying as artists in the preface of *The Shadow of the Sun*: 'Female visionaries are poor mad exploited sibyls and pythonesses. Male ones are prophets and poets. Or so I thought. There was a feminine mystique but no tradition of female mysticism that wasn't hopelessly self-abnegating' (Byatt, *The Shadow of the Sun*, p. x).

[39] Humm, *Border Traffic*, p. 20.

[40] Elizabeth Jennings (2002) *New Collected Poems* (Manchester: Carcanet), pp. 24-35.

[41] Jennings, *New Collected Poems*, p. 3.

[42] Jennings, *New Collected Poems*, p. 32.

[43] Jennings, *New Collected Poems*, p. 79.

[44] M. Halliday (2009) 'Stevie Smith's Serious Comedy', *Humor*, 22:3, 295-315, 296.

[45] A new edition of Smith's work, titled *The Collected Poems and Drawings of Stevie Smith*, edited by Will May, was published by Faber in September 2015.

[46] Stevie Smith (1975) *The Collected Poems of Stevie Smith* (London: Allen Lane), p. 390.

[47] Smith, *Collected Poems*, p. 396.

[48] Smith, *Collected Poems*, p. 429.

[49] Smith, *Collected Poems*, p. 431.

[50] Montgomery, *Women's Rights,* p. 194.

[51] Greer, *The Female Eunuch*, pp. 39, 47, 34.

[52] Fay Weldon (2012) [1967] *The Fat Woman's Joke* (London: Flamingo), p. 5.

[53] Weldon, *The Fat Woman's Joke*, p. 8.

[54] Greer, *The Female Eunuch*, p. 35.

[55] Weldon, *The Fat Woman's Joke*, p. 23.

[56] Weldon, *The Fat Woman's Joke*, p. 86.

[57] Weldon, *The Fat Woman's Joke*, p. 120.

[58] Weldon, *The Fat Woman's Joke*, p. 134.

[59] Greer, *The Female Eunuch*, p. 45.

[60] Weldon, *The Fat Woman's Joke*, p. 136.

[61] Fay Weldon, *Down Among the Women* (London: Heinemann, 1971), p. 1.

[62] Greer, *The Female Eunuch*, p. 198.

[63] M. Chessnut (1979) 'Feminist Criticism and Feminist Consciousness: A Reading of a Novel by Fay Weldon', *Moderna Sprak*, 73, 3-18, 18.

[64] Mitchell, *Women: The Longest Revolution*, pp. 42, 26.

[65] Mitchell, *Women: The Longest Revolution*, p. 42.

[66]Mitchell, *Women: The Longest Revolution*, p. 22.

[67] Mitchell, *Women: The Longest Revolution*, pp. 31-2.

[68] Mitchell, *Women: The Longest Revolution*, pp. 37-8, 39-42.

[69] Mortimer, *The Pumpkin Eater*, p. 47.

[70] Mortimer, *The Pumpkin Eater*, p. 51.

[71]Mortimer, *The Pumpkin Eater*, p. 64.

[72] Mitchell, *Women: The Longest Revolution*, p. 48.

[73] Mortimer (1971) *The Home* (London: Hutchinson), p. 11.

[74] Mortimer, *The Home*, p. 120.

[75] Mortimer, *The Home*, p. 22.

[76] Mortimer, *The Home*, p. 63.

[77] Mortimer, *The Home*, p. 125.

[78] Greer, *The Female Eunuch*, p. 304.